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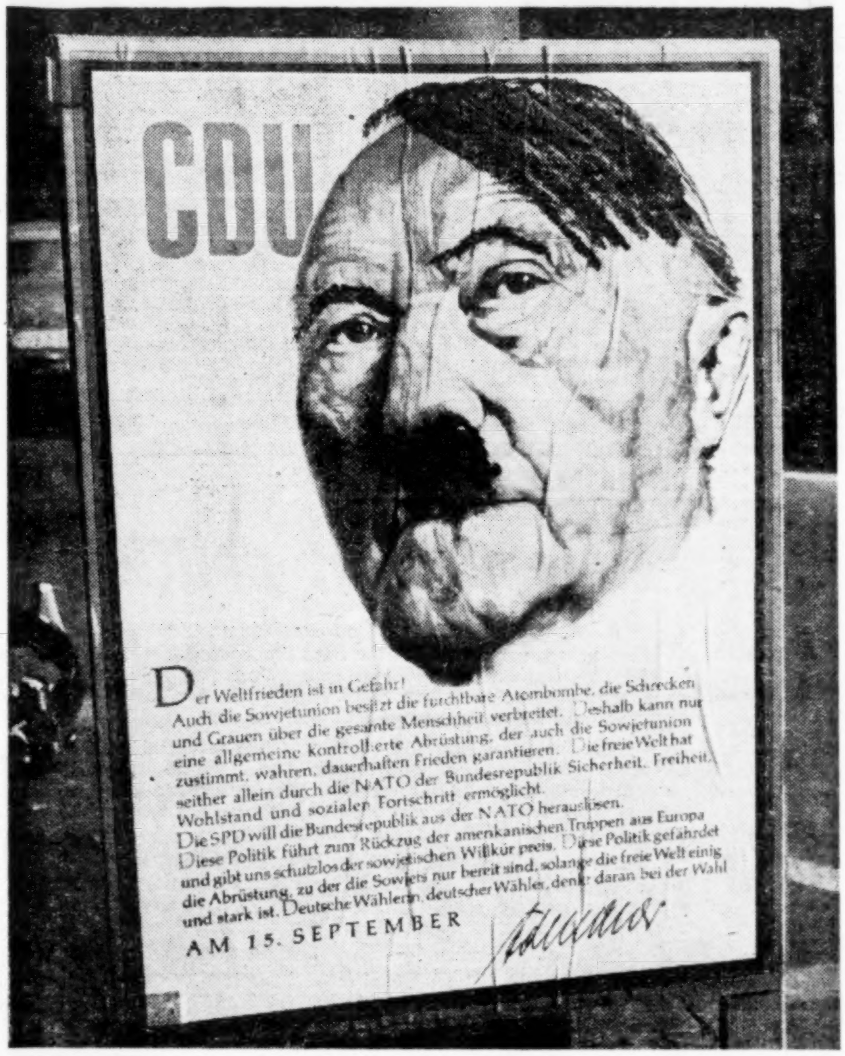
The Old Fox wins in W. Germany


CDU
Der Weltfrieden ist in Gefahr!
Auch die Sowjetunion besitzt die furchtbare Atombombe, die Schrecken
und Grauen über die gesamte Menschheit verbreitet. Deshalb kann nur
eine allgemeine kontrollierte Abrüstung, der auch die Sowjetunion
zustimmt, wahren, dauerhaften Frieden garantieren. Die freie Welt hat
seither allein durch die NATO der Bundesrepublik Sicherheit, Freiheit,
Wohlstand und sozialen Fortschritt ermöglicht.
Die SPD will die Bundesrepublik aus der NATO herauslösen.
Diese Politik führt zum Rückzug der amerikanischen Truppen aus Europa
und gibt uns schutzlos der sowjetischen Willkür preis. Diese Politik gefährdet
die Abrüstung, zu der die Sowjets nur bereit sind, solange die freie Welt einig
und stark ist. Deutsche Wählerin, deutscher Wähler, denk daran bei der Wahl
AM 15. SEPTEMBER
Adenauer

THE UBIQUITOUS ARTIST delighting in drawing moustaches and beards on billboard posters last week altered Chancellor Adenauer's photograph (above) to support the accusation by anti-Nazi W. German intellectuals that **Der Alte** was setting himself up as a new "Fuehrer." Despite similar charges by such leading journals as Hamburg's daily **Die Welt** and W. Germany's best-known weekly **Der Spiegel**, Adenauer seemed to have won an absolute majority in parliament in the election of Sept. 15. Some reasons, aside from the economic boom: active and open support of his candidacy through pastoral letters by the Roman Catholic church, especially aimed at women voters who number over 19,000,000; access to seemingly limitless source of funds; armed forces votes; "the cult of personality carefully nurtured by the most skillful propaganda methods," copied from the Eisenhower campaign, (**N.Y. Times**, 9/15). Of the 30,000,000 votes cast out of 35,000,000 eligible, Adenauer's party received 51.8% and the Social Democrats 31.7%, an increase of 6.6% and 2.9%, respectively, over the 1953 election figures. The smaller parties made poor showings.

DISSENSION ON VACCINE TOO

Panic and profits: The Asian flu 'invades' America

By Elmer Bendiner

BALLYHOO, CONFUSION and a sharp eye for a quick buck last week marked the nation's preparation to combat the threatened epidemic of Asian flu.

Though health authorities around the world had begun tracking the flu from its first appearance in Asia last January, the U.S. took no active steps until summer. The story broke under scare headlines and stories that luridly depicted the possibility of the nation waking up one morning to find its transportation system paralyzed, its industrial machine grinding to a halt, its schools closed, its hospitals undermanned, and fires blazing with no firemen to answer alarms.

Writers treated the epidemic like an invasion. There were hurried official conferences, the establishment of "nerve centers," "priorities," "crash programs." Its Asian origin lent a sinister note to the enemy virus. Donald H. Cooley in the **N.Y. Times Magazine** wrote: "It appeared in Asia, unnoticed, created out of inscrutable, subtle, ominous character changes."

BIG BOOM, DOC: The publicity whipped up a quick demand for a vaccine which was not generally available. Six companies were ordered into around-the-clock production, though no one explained why, if the need was so pressing, the orders should be restricted to six firms.

By midwinter the epidemic was expected to net those six firms a $12,000,000 business boom. The vaccine's costs are minimal. It is cultured inside an ordinary chicken egg where the virus grows and multiplies in the cells of a live chick embryo. The virus is then drained off, killed and suspended in a solution ready for injection. The job of the dead flu virus is to stimulate anti-bodies within the person inoculated; these, in turn, combat any live flu virus that may enter the body.

Drug companies sell the vaccine at about 60c a dose. Medical men estimate that price as a mark-up of perhaps several hundred per cent over the actual

(Continued on Page 9)

THE NEWPORT MEETING

Was there an Ike-Orval deal on Little Rock?

By Eugene Gordon

AT GUARDIAN press time, the cordon of National Guard troops surrounding Central High School in Little Rock, Ark., was still there. But there were indications that, as the week progressed, there might be a change in the situation, brought about by the conference on Sept. 14 between the President and Gov. Faubus of Arkansas at the Little White House in Newport, R.I., where the President is vacationing.

Apparently realizing that he had got himself in a trap with his decision to call out the Guard to prevent nine young Negroes from being integrated in the all-white high school, the Governor sought and received a dramatic interview with Mr. Eisenhower. His alternative was a day in court on Sept. 20 where he would face a charge of contempt in defying the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools. The press of the nation and responsible public opinion had vigorously condemned his behavior.

ALL SMILES: The President and Gov. Faubus were smiling when they emerged from their two-hour conference with separate statements. The President said he had met with the Governor "in a constructive discussion regarding the carrying out of the orders of the Federal Court in the matter of the high schools of Little Rock." The Governor said he and the President had had "a friendly discussion of the problem of compliance with court orders respecting the high schools of Little Rock." The President quoted the Governor's pledge "to respect" the Dis-

(Continued on Page 8)

WHY WASHINGTON CHANGED ITS TUNE

Dulles talks double on Syrian 'threat'

By Kumar Goshal

EVER SINCE THE CHANGES in the Syrian government last month, the makers and shakers of foreign policy in Washington have blown hot and cold. Last week they seem to have been halted, perhaps on the brink of a new disaster, by shock therapy administered by an odd team of specialists: the foreign minister of the Soviet Union and the feudal ruler of Saudi Arabia.

President Eisenhower at first took the news of the Syrian shifts calmly. He said there was no proof that Syria was dominated by "international communism." He even took the view that "communist control" of Syria might be as bearable as President Tito's rule of Yugoslavia.

The mood changed abruptly after Deputy Under Secy. of State Loy Henderson returned from an on-the-spot survey of the Middle East—he carefully skirted Syria, where he would have been welcome—and reported on Sept. 4: "The situation in Syria is serious. In fact, I would say extremely serious."

THE VOICE OF DOOM: Three days later Secy. of State Dulles issued a statement after a White House conference on Syria. He said that the President "appraised the situation in the light of the UN Charter, which denies Syria the right to use force except in self-defense [and] affirmed his intention to . . . exercise as needed the authority" granted him under the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Henderson also reported that Syria's neighbors felt the events in Damascus threatened their security. The U.S. immediately rushed to the rescue of its Arab allies—like the cowboy hero and his pals galloping to the rescue of the fair maiden tied to the railroad tracks in the path of an oncoming locomotive. Loads of arms were air-lifted to Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia.

But the dramatic rescue flopped as the Arab nations refused to play. Jordan's Foreign Minister Samir el-Rifai said he did "not think anything has happened in Syria" to worry his government. He said Syria was "independent and entitled to do what she likes in her own interests." He added: "We do not want the Middle East to become a battle ground in the cold war."

WHO'S EXCITED? Response from Iraq and Lebanon was similar. Contradicting Henderson, pro-U.S. Lebanese Foreign Minister Charles Malik told parliament that he had asked Henderson to notify Washington of Lebanon's determination to support Syria against any attempt to change the Damascus government by force.

"The Arab countries," the **N.Y. Times** said (9/11), "seem far less excited than the U.S. about the growing cooperation between Syria and the Soviet Union."

Perhaps indicating that the U.S. was rushing to rescue the wrong maiden, a highly-placed Lebanese leader said: "At long last we are getting the guns we need to defend ourselves against Israel. Those arms will never be used by one Arab against another" (**AP**, 9/9). His remarks about possible aggression by Israel were repeated throughout the Arab world.

MOSCOW'S WARNING: Then Moscow entered the picture. In an unusual inter-

(Continued on Page 9)

In this issue

THE NASHVILLE STORY
A page of pictures . . . p. 3
KAPITZA INTERVIEW
By W.G. Burchett . . . . p. 4
A POLITICAL PREVIEW
The fall campaign . . . p. 5
A SPLIT IN LABOUR?
By Gordon Schaffer . . p. 6
ON WASHING BRAINS
Belfrage from China . . p. 7
THE UNITED NATIONS
A recommended book . p. 10

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REPORT TO READERS

Independent politics

MORE AND MORE FORCIBLY our conviction is renewed that the Left of this country chose the most inappropriate moment conceivable to abandon independent political activity and dismantle such forms as the Progressive Party, American Labor Party, California's IPP and all other independent people's party organizations.

In the spring of 1954 the Supreme Court rendered its historic desegregation decision affecting the schools of the nation. Ordinary political foresight should have foreseen that without an independent political task force in the nation, the Negro people would have to carry on alone in the fight for implementation.

Yet in the fall of 1954, the N.Y. American Labor Party gave up its ballot status (and dwindled to its complete demise within two years) because some 10,000 of its remaining voters were impressed by the Left savants with the urgency of defeating a Republican state administration with the Democrat Harriman. Similarly in 1954, the IPP surrendered its ballot status in California and, with its two mainstay parties dismembered, the Progressive Party could not long stay alive.

IT IS A FAIR QUESTION to ask how a surviving Progressive Party might have helped ward off the events of recent weeks in little Rock, Nashville and wherever white supremacy is staging violent retreating actions against school integration.

It is a fair counter, we think, to point out that school integration is not only a Southern issue, that in the nation's largest city, New York, it is largely a pious platitude with no political party actively fighting for it, now that the ALP is gone. Integration in N.Y. schools is stalled because of the survival of huge ghetto-ized communities which have grown up because of a lifetime of discrimination in housing.

Currently there is a bill before New York's City Council which would outlaw discrimination in private housing (by and large, public housing in N.Y. is free of discrimination). The bill is sponsored by a Republican, Stanley Isaacs, and two Democrats, Earl Brown and Joseph Sharkey. Yet the political parties of all the sponsors have turned their backs on the bill, real estate interests are waging a moneyed fight against it, and the struggle in its behalf is left to the Negro community and a few civic organizations with no political leverage.

THE JOBS ARE LEGION for independent political task forces in all the big cities of the North, where integration has been given lip service, but the pattern of segregated living persists.

There are other jobs, too: for example, backing the recent Supreme Court decisions curbing the Dept. of Justice and the FBI in their attacks on labor and civil liberties by pressure on Congress.

Peace is without a political proponent in this country—a sad situation indeed when a clear and overwhelming majority of the people demand peace and an end to atomic nonsense, yet have no political means of saying so.

It is a woeful commentary that only a paltry few thousands throughout the whole nation have been reached to add their voices to the appeal of Morton Sobell for a new trial. When the ALP was at moderate strength in New York (1951) it was able to get 35,000 signatures in New York City alone to petitions to save the life of Willie McGee.

These are some of the thoughts which plague us as we enter another political season of "coalition" and no meaningful independent politics. "Coalition" seems to have become a euphemism for no action on any front.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

This is violence

DETROIT, MICH.

For years the Federal government has been sending men and women to jail presumably because they advocated the overthrow of that government by force and violence.

Now in Arkansas real force and violence are being practiced. Overt acts are actually occurring. A seditious governor defies the Constitution and the Supreme Court by a visible show of force. Men with guns prevent a handful of Negro children from entering an American public school.

The pattern of events in Little Rock does not add up to anything theoretical or abstract. This is direct action; this is indeed violence; these are certainly overt acts. The question now is, will the President act? Will he preserve the dignity and prestige of the office to which all the people have elected him?

John C. Conley

Boris

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

No longer mourn for Boris
A red, red Russian spy;
Sing loudly now of Morros
True blue to the FBI.

O shabby friends and neighbors
Who used our boy so ill,
Look now on Boris' labors
And judge him if you will.

O difficult indeed to bear
On Hollywood and Vine
Was Headless Hedda's icy stare
And Lolly's cutting line.

Now he's a jolly good fellow
Which nobody dare deny
A wonderful chap on a cello
And second to none as a spy.

George Hanlin

State of the economy

HAMILTON, ONT.

Tabitha Petran's spring analysis of the economy (4-29-56) was right on the nose. The Toronto stock market is in a deplorable state, partly on account of the recent national election. Probably the only time in history that the stock market declined with the election of a Tory government.

J. A. Murphy

"The FBI Story"

PASADENA, CALIF.

Let me compliment Albert Kahn for his discerning review of the FBI Story. "Reviews" heretofore published have (as I recall) rarely, if ever, alluded to the points he makes. The low-level of "reviewing" is found, I believe, in the big literary journals who haven't the guts to speak honestly and to the real point as does Kahn in such matters!

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SOLANGE (9.2) Of this variety Mrs. Harding writes: "Until the lover of peonies knows Solange, his life is wasted, bare, uninteresting, impoverished and lonely beyond all words to tell." Its flower is high built, compact, and composed of large thick petals which closely overlap. The color is deep cream, tinged with amber throughout, with a touch of soft salmon-pink glowing from its heart. Late. $1.50.

Vaughan Seed Co.
Fall catalogue

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Elizabeth Seeman, Erwin, Tenn.

Also, may I say that amidst the turgid sewage pouring from the Chandler and Hearst presses in our region, in re **Confidential's** trial, the sane, calm and adult point of view Elmer Bendiner took in your paper (Aug. 26) is like a breath of fresh air in a filthy, smoke-filled, alcoholic-ridden room!

John G. Moore

Confidentially, it's smut

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Re Elmer Bendiner's article about the trial of **Confidential** magazine:

Freedom of the press is one thing and peddling of smut and pornography and destroying the names of prominent actors and actresses is another. Such pornography enters the home and is read by children and teenagers. It is an incitement to sexual assaults and sex crimes in the U.S.A.

It is inconceivable to me that a progressive would endorse a magazine like **Confidential** poisoning the minds of young people just because he doesn't believe that censorship is good in a democracy. He would also allow such magazines in a socialist society if they would improve their grammar.

Ridiculous!

Max Cossak

The new Gilded Age

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Leland Stanford, a railroad magnate of the Gilded Age, once wrote to Sen. Roscoe Conkling advising him not to oppose legislation setting up an Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate railroads. His reason was that government agencies set up to regulate industries wind up by protecting them.

So it is with the Sherman Anti-Trust Law which was designed to regulate monopolies in restraint of trade. The first action taken under this act was to curb the labor unions and the last action has resulted in a gift of **500 to 600 million dollars** to one of the biggest American monopolies.

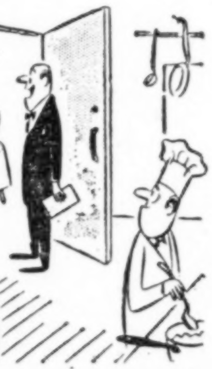
The Du Pont Co. recently was ordered by the courts under the provision of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to divest itself of its holdings in General Motors on the ground that the size of these holdings constituted such control of General Motors policies as to be in restraint of trade.

These holdings, representing approximately 22% of General Motors stock, are worth $2,500,000,000. Of course, no company needs 22% of the stock to control another, effective control frequently being accomplished with 10% or less. A shrewd guess would indicate that this stock cost Du Pont somewhere in the neighborhood of $100,000,000 and that there is a profit of about $2,400,000,000 on which the tax, if the sales had been in the ordinary course of business, would be $600,000,000.

Under Section 1033 of the Internal Revenue Code property which is the subject of involuntary conversion may be disposed of **tax free** provided the proceeds are invested in similar property. To eliminate any question as to whether this applies to proceedings under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives (HR 7628) specifically extending the provisions of this section to such sales so that the Du Pont Co. will profit to the extent of **600 million dollars,** and in addition **must** invest the proceeds in stock of other companies, thereby extending their control to other areas of the economy at the expense of us less fortunate taxpayers who cannot have special laws passed for their protection.

Henry Abrams

P. S. This is my candidate for the "How Crazy Can You Get" department.



Reynolds News, London

"Well, what did I tell you? He's gulping it down just as if you'd never dropped it on the floor in the first place!"

Falling barriers

SAN FERNANDO, CALIF.

So glad to get Cedric Belfrage's report on the International Youth Festival in Moscow. It is an event of great importance in bringing together the youth of so many countries—all, or most of them, intensely interested in breaking down the false barriers of fear and dislike of one nationality or race against another.

The acceptance of the invitation to visit China is another event of equal importance. This surely is changing the attitude of the State Dept. in the matter of allowing correspondents, and others, to obtain visas.

L. R.

•

BELHAVEN, N.C.

I glory in the spunk of the 41 American youths who have gone to Red China in defiance of State Department orders. What a triumph for individual freedom over American totalitarianism!

Vernon Ward

The psychological moment

CHICAGO, ILL.

The American Friends Service Committee has issued petitions addressed to President Eisenhower stating the terrible facts about nuclear bombs and quoting, among others, Albert Schweitzer. Each petition has space for 20 signatures. Signed petitions returned to the Friends Committee are being forwarded to the President, often accompanied by a delegation of the Friends Committee. The psychological moment has arrived: the fear of total annihilation by radioactive fire is gradually entering American minds.

I meet quick interest everywhere; by the beauty shop operator after we have discussed the weather and inflation; by the woman who slips my safe deposit box back and locks up and hands me my key; by the grocery clerk after he has given me my change and asked after my family, by those at an NAACP meeting, by my neighbor.

Here, in short, is an opportunity we have all been looking for—to help bring about the first definite agreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. leading toward the abolition of all nuclear weapons. To get petitions, write to American Friends Service Committee, P.O. Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Ellen Brandstetter

The Nashville story: Courage and common sense prevail over hate

"THE DANGER IS PAST," announced Nashville's asst. school supt. William H. Oliver on Sept. 15. His message sounded like an "all clear" signal after a week of harrowing violence: screaming mobs, armed with clubs and guns, surrounding schools and pursuing Negro children; the dynamiting of one brand new school and threats of other assaults.

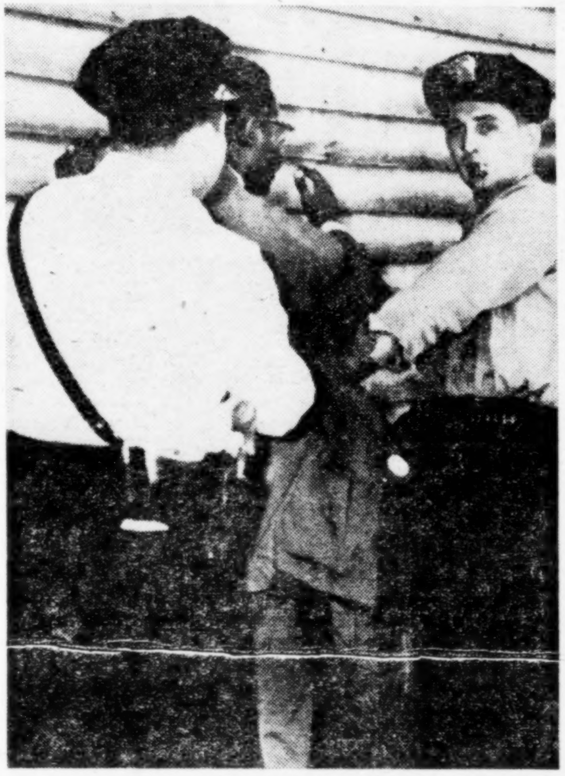
Mayor Ben West and the city school board acted swiftly in the mounting chaos. They sought and got an order from the Federal District Court banning all interferences with integration. Police were handed copies with orders to read it aloud, as they would a riot act, to the mobs at school gates, then act to jail any violators.

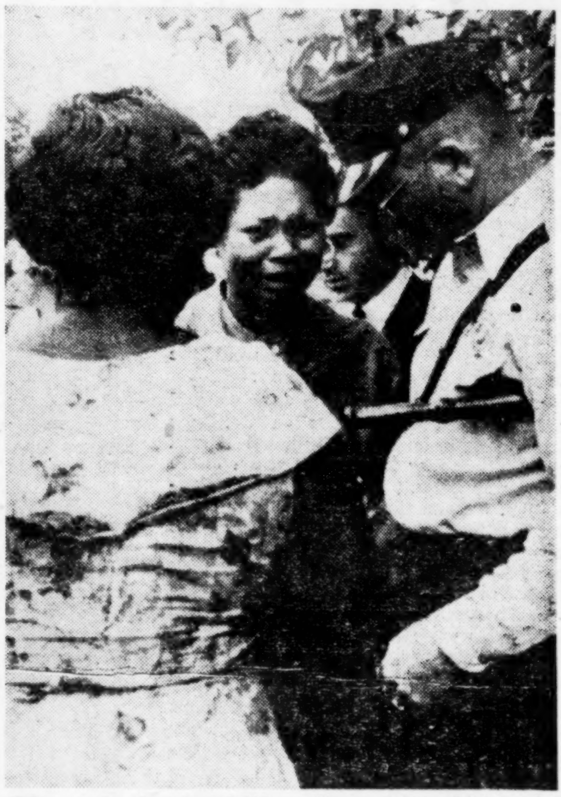
Demonstrators were rounded up, their weapons confiscated; segregation rallies were banned. Caught in the dragnet was segregationist agitator John Kasper, who had called for violence to prevent integration. He was arrested while at the police station where he was arranging bail for his followers, including several Knights of the Ku Klux Klan who had toured the city in a car with KKK insignia and loaded with arms and dynamiting equipment.

As Kasper began serving a 33-day sentence in the workhouse for failure to pay a $200 fine, a county jury handed up a new indictment against him and the Federal government leveled an injunction against his activities. His followers, who a few days before had followed his call to violence, publicly disclaimed him.

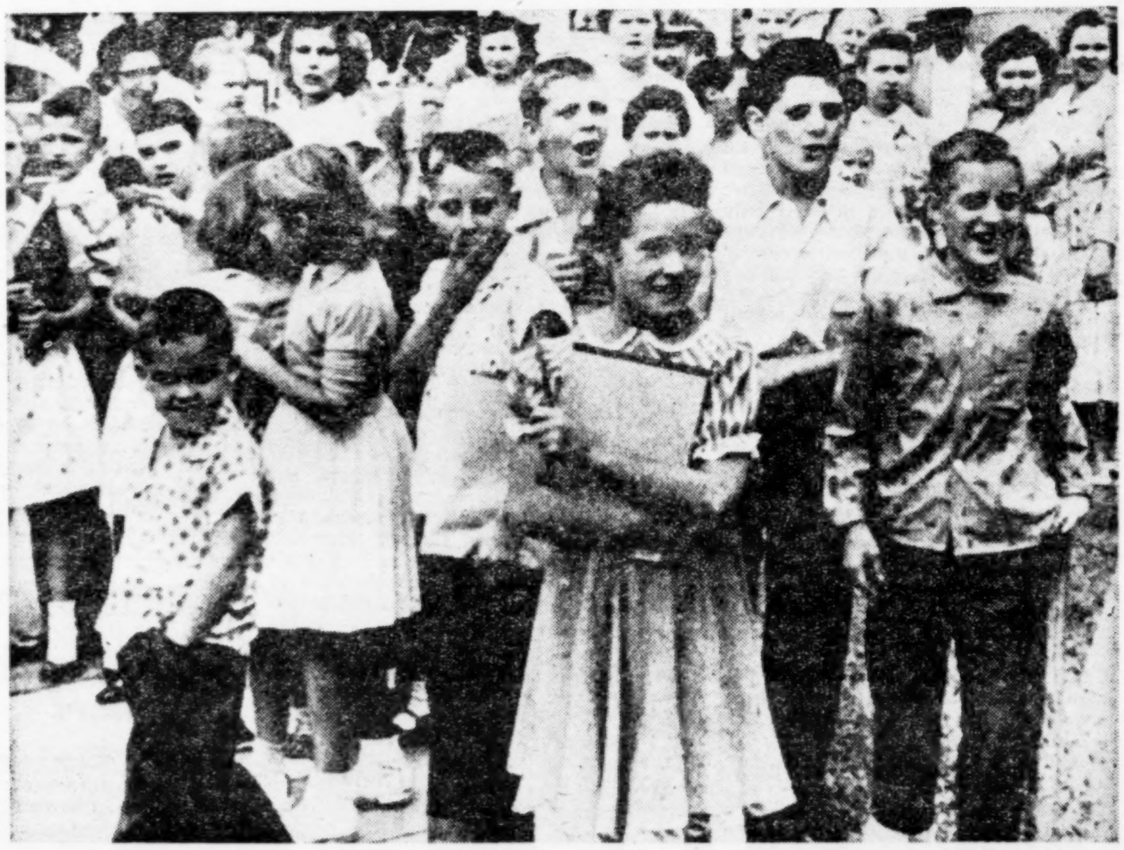
Throughout the first week of school in Nashville attendance had slumped as parents, more out of fear than prejudice, kept their children home. Gov. Clement said during the week that Nashville had been caught in the "backwash" of the trouble in Little Rock.

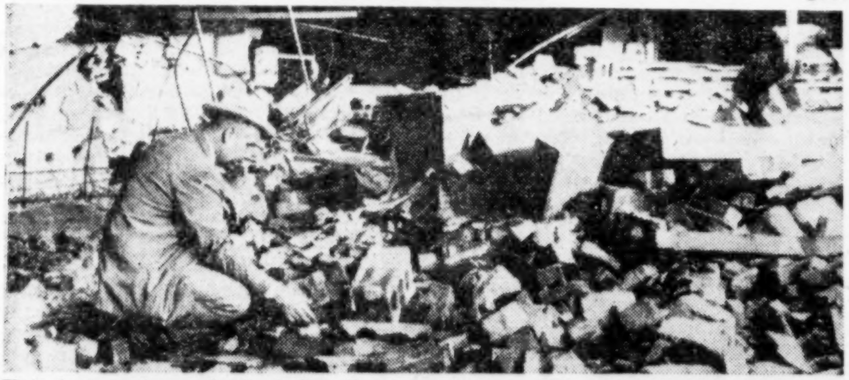
Heroes of the week were the 15 Negro first-graders, most of whom daily ran the gauntlet of jeering, rock-heaving mobs to break down the barriers of school segregation. At the end of the term's first week school attendance was up to half of its enrollment. The nightmare seemed to be passing.


The Rev. Everett W. Jackson being frisked. Mobsters said he pulled a gun to protect schoolgirl from rocks they threw.


When mobs threatened this mother and her children she pulled out a paring knife and said: "Come and jump me now."

Segregationist John Kasper, who called for violence, was jailed. Official said: "He sounds like a wild man."


Some white children imitated their elders. They hooted and jeered as Negro first-graders entered. Teachers expected no trouble from them once the grown-ups regained their sanity.


Hate lays waste a school, A detective inspects the rubble of Hattie Cotton Grade School, demolished by dynamite because one Negro child had entered.

Violence lay behind these children once they were together inside the Fehr School. Teachers complained only of shouts and epithets from grown-ups through windows.

THE MAN WHO WON'T WORK ON THE BOMB

Peter Kapitza: An exclusive interview

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

ONE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S most brilliant scientists, Prof. Peter Kapitza, has warned of the dangers to humanity unless agreement is reached to ban A- and H-bomb tests. He scoffed at the idea of developing a "clean" bomb.

Prof. Kapitza received me in his palatial offices in the Institute for Physical Problems of the Soviet Academy of Science in the outskirts of Moscow. He was reluctant to prophesy at what point contamination of the atmosphere would be dangerous to mankind, but said:

"The important thing is that we will only really know when it is too late. Once the atmosphere is contaminated it will remain that way for 50 or 60 years. There is no way back. There is no decontamination. We can find out the danger point for a guinea pig. But human beings are not guinea pigs. What may be bad or good for a guinea pig may even be good or bad for the human. But it is the almost unanimous view of scientists all over the world that the tests should be stopped. We cannot undo it once it is done. We are already playing with fire."

CLEAN AND DIRTY: When asked about the "clean" bomb, Kapitza replied: "They have to explode many dirty bombs before they can know if they can produce a 'clean' bomb. And who wants a 'clean' bomb that can kill a few million people at a time? If people want to continue to live, then all bombs, A and H, dirty and 'clean,' must be banned and all tests stopped."

Prof. Kapitza recalled that despite sensational books and articles in the press, he had never worked on the A- or H-bombs, but exclusively on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. "An American journalist came to see me in 1946," he said, "and asked me a lot of questions about bombs. I told him that to think that atomic energy could be used only for weapons was to think that electricity can be used only for the electric chair." He handed me the French and English translations of a German book by a man named Biew, entitled: **Kapitza—the Man Who Built The Soviet H-Bomb**.

PROF. PETER KAPITZA
The Squire of Atomic Manor

NOT THE FATHER: "There's not a single word of truth in it," he said. "I have never worked on bombs. This man claims to have been my personal pilot. I have never had a personal plane and so never a personal pilot. I have never met the man; and I certainly never studied under a Prof. Perlman, as Biew states." Asked why he thought such a book had been written, Prof. Kapitza laughed and said:

"I once put a question to George Bernard Shaw as to why anyone would write such a book as **The Mysterious Universe.** Shaw replied: 'To make money' and I suppose that is why Biew wrote the book. It is true that in 1940, at a meeting in the Hall of Columns to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution, I warned about atomic warfare. World War II had already started. I described the size and shape of atomic bombs which would be used if the war was not stopped and I warned of the consequences. The speech was published abroad. Later the type of bomb I described was that dropped on Hiroshima. Perhaps, because of this, some journalists abroad decided to make me the 'Father of the A- or H-bombs'."

Asked whether Soviet scientists were working on counter-measures against atomic radiation, Prof. Kapitza replied: "You can't stop radiation. You can't halt the rays and you can't decontaminate or reduce the concentration of radiation. That's the important thing! It is done for ever. As to means of reducing the effects on the human body, that is for the biologists and outside my sphere. Certainly they are working on that. But radiation is creating new types of viruses and new illnesses about which we know nothing."

SUPER ENERGY: Prof. Kapitza is now working on problems connected with thermo-nuclear super energy, which has the same relationship to atomic energy as the H-bomb to the A-bomb.

"All three countries are working on this," he said, "the British, the Americans and us. It remains to be seen who is going to arrive first. This is the real thing: enormously cheap power. You can run on sea water and there is no contamination. To produce thermo-nuclear energy is the greatest problem of the day."

As to who would produce it first, Dr. Kapitza was cautious. "Our Academician Kurchatov, when he was in London, produced some very interesting formulae which British scientists thought would be top secret," he said. On Soviet progress toward super-energy he said: "We are getting on with it. But we also have not solved the problem. I have a very high opinion of British scientists. They are working hard on it too."

In Kapitza's view, work is going very well with atomic power stations but the use of isotopes and tracer atoms in industry, agriculture and medicine is more important than producing atomic energy. "We can get energy from other sources," he said, "but isotopes solve many problems that can be solved no other way."

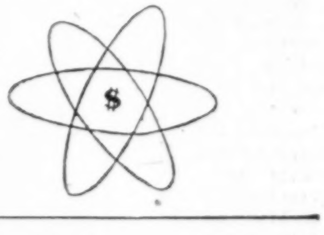
"Quite right"

THE BRITISH PACIFIST weekly **Peace News** last July, in a London-to-Moscow telephone interview, asked Prof. Kapitza whether he had refused to work on Soviet thermo-nuclear weapons. Kapitza answered: "Quite right."

Kapitza indicated that other Soviet scientists had taken a similar position. Asked for a message to the British people, he said, "We all want peace."

THE SQUIRE: Prof. Kapitza studied and worked on nuclear physics in England with the outstanding British physicist, Lord Rutherford. He was an assistant to Rutherford and to Prof. Thompson in the original splitting of the atom which paved the way for the atomic age. A special laboratory named for Prof. Kapitza was built at Cambridge University for him to carry on his research. He returned to the Soviet Union in 1934, after 13 years in England.

Despite the gaily-embroidered Ukrainian shirt he was wearing during the interview, with his florid face and smooth greying hair he looks more like a British country squire than the popular conception of a great Soviet scientist. He recalled that one of his pupils at Cambridge had been Sir John Cockcroft, who now directs the British research center at Harwell. Cockcroft, incidentally, a few months ago published an article in **Nature** refuting the stories that Prof. Kapitza was the man who built the Soviet A- and H-bombs.



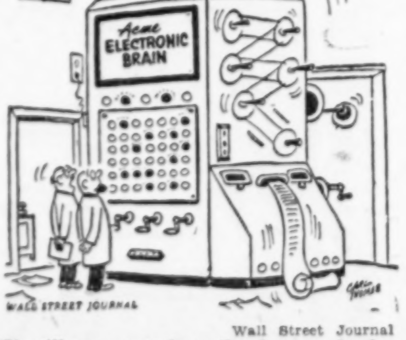
Little Bomb

Little bomb, who made thee?
Dost thou know who made thee;
Not so dirty as the last,
With a clean, effective blast
Annihilating all, with just
The very minimum of dust?
Did he tell thee that he means
No mutations in the genes,
Minimizing (so he hopes)
Radioactive isotopes?

Little bomb, I made thee
All of us have made thee,
When the world was old and sad
Power drove our rulers mad,
All their cruelty and fear
In thy lineaments appear.
These, with my own apathy,
Framed a fearful cemetery
Where the human form divine
Drivels to its last decline.

Little bomb, who'll drop thee?
Lunacy will drop thee;
Lunacy which generates
Hateful poisons, poisonous hates.
Lunacy, which offers earth
Painful death and monstrous birth.
Thou a bomb and I a guy
We shall both go up sky-high;
But, if that is only bluff,
Strontium 90 is enough.

- Reprinted in the Pacific **Tribune** from an Australian labor paper



Wall Street Journal
"It will never replace the human brain, Stanley, until we find a way to make it worry."

IN CHICAGO AND SEATTLE

Deportation cases: A victory, a stay

Special to the Guardian
CHICAGO

THE U.S. COURT OF APPEALS, Seventh Circuit, has upheld a District Court decision to quash a Dept. of Immigration deportation order against Andrew Yiannopolis, 55, director of the Greek Theater here and a U.S. resident for 42 years. Yiannapolis was charged with Communist Party membership.

The original deportation order was thrown out in February, 1956, by Federal Judge John P. Barnes, who ruled that Yiannopolis had been denied a fair and impartial hearing by the Special Inquiry Officer. The government appealed. In rejecting the government's move, the Appeals Court pointed out contradictions in the testimony of the two government witnesses, whom it characterized as "salaried" and "professional" witnesses. The decision agreed that Yiannopolis had not had a fair hearing and said there was "a want of reasonable, substantial and probative evidence" against him.

The Yiannopolis case is another victory for veteran civil liberties attorney Pearl M. Hart, general counsel for the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Last winter Miss Hart successfully argued the Witkovich case before the U.S. Supreme Court, winning a ruling which nullified the repressive features of the "supervisory parole" provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law. These apply to deportees who cannot be deported to countries of their origin.

STAY IN SEATTLE: In Seattle, attorney John Caughlan won a stay of the government's sixth attempt in eight years to deport Canadian-born Hazel Anna Wolfe because of alleged past CP membership. Mrs. Wolfe twice took her case to the Supreme Court but was refused reviews. In the new action, attorney Caughlan contends that the government has incorrectly classified Mrs. Wolfe as an alien, since her mother was a U.S. citizen who married a British national.

Caughlan argued that a woman citizen married prior to 1907 to a foreign person did not lose her citizenship. The present law grants citizenship to any person who entered the U.S. before age 22 and who has one parent a U.S. citizen. Mrs. Wolfe came to this country at 19.

A POLITICAL ROUNDUP

Fall elections offer preview for ballot in '58 and '60

THIS IS THE POLITICIANS' rehearsal time—when party directors tentatively pick their casts, when scripts are rewritten or rejected. This is a political off-year but also a curtain-raiser to next year's Congressional elections and to the Presidential year of 1960.

There was a try-out in Wisconsin last month where Democrat William Proxmire swamped Republican Walter J. Kohler to take the Senate seat of the late Joe McCarthy. Other performances, testing the voters' moods are scheduled in New Jersey where a governor's race is on, and in municipal elections in New York City and Detroit. In California the battle for the Republican nomination to succeed Gen. Eisenhower is in full swing. Late this month in Sea Isle, Ga., the Southern governors will gather to see whether any of them stands a chance for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

The rise of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas is felt by some to mean he can be king as well as king-maker of the Democratic Party. The slapstick note was struck by Kentucky's Gov. A. B. (Happy) Chandler who arrived from Europe recently and announced his cadidacy for the Presidency with the reminder: "I'm a serious fellow."

WHY PROXMIRE WON: The election of Proxmire to fill out McCarthy's unexpired Senate term by a landslide majority of 122,000 votes rocked the Republicans and most of the press which had almost unanimously predicted an easy win for former Gov. Kohler. The upset was the more surprising in that Wisconsin has sent GOP Senators to Washington consistently for the last quarter of a century and that Kohler had never before been beaten in his long political career. These were some of the factors in the upset unnoticed by on-the-spot reporters before the election:

- The farm revolt against Administration agricultural policies, noted in 1956, was still gathering steam on the prairies. Long-time GOP farm counties went for Proxmire. Small businessmen, too, were worried about rumblings of recession. Despite the Democratic Party's split personality on civil rights, the Negro and labor wards remained loyal
- The GOP split remained unhealed. The McCarthy wing of the party, in command of the state machine, sat on its hands rather than campaign for pro-Eisenhower "Modern Republican" Kohler. Many more Republicans than Democrats stayed at home on election day. The Old Guard was bidding for party power even if it meant losing the election.
- Proxmire campaigned for lower taxes and more social security while Kohler ducked the issues.

NEW YORK RACE: The other try-outs this year seem unlikely to duplicate the Wisconsin upset. In New York City Mayor Wagner is running for re-election against the only Republican willing to face almost certain defeat at his hands, hotelman Robert K. Christenberry. Wagner has against him a deadly record of witch-hunts in city departments that has decimated the school teaching staffs. His term of office has been marked by scandals in Title I housing, allegedly concealed at City Hall, and charges of corruption in the City Council.

JOYCE COWLEY
For Mayor of New York

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
For the N.Y. City Council

In recent months he has tried to suppress a departmental report on juvenile delinquency. Under his administration the proposed desegregation of many city schools has been frustrated, angering numerous Negro and civil rights groups

Though theoretically working in close team work with Democratic Gov. Harriman, the Mayor has won very little more state aid for the city than in the days when the Republicans ran Albany. He spent $1,000,000 on a census to prove that the city's increased population rated more state aid, but found instead that the city's population was declining.

A LOT OF LOBSTER: On the sales tax, subway fares and real estate evaluation the Mayor had made no changes. The Republican alternative, Robert Keaton Christenberry, has so far seemed to ignore the obvious targets presented by Wagner's record and is asking for election largely on a promise to appoint more policemen. Christenberry's qualifications for public office are obscure: During World War II Mayor LaGuardia set him to work gathering fingerprints of civilians and he diligently accumulated 1,000,000 of them. His friend, Gov. Dewey, appointed him chairman of the State Athletic Commission where he inveighed against corruption in the prize ring, though the cleanup was less than sensational. As a midtown hotel manager he has similarly assailed Broadway honky-tonks but failed to hurt them much. He has never before competed for office but 20 years ago ran second in an Atlantic City lobster-eating contest.

Mayor Wagner has in his corner the traditional Democratic strength of the city, the support of the Liberal Party and the official endorsement of labor leaders. By and large, the Democratic machine emerged undamaged by insurgent efforts in last week's apathetic primaries.

CHOICE ON THE LEFT: On the left there is an alternative in the candidacy of Joyce Cowley of the Socialist Workers Party. Last week petitions containing 11,000 signatures were filed to put her on the ballot, along with Lillian Kiezel for Council President; Morris Zuckoff, Controller, and Alvin Berman, Brooklyn Borough President. Legal requirement: 7,000.

The Communist Party is supporting only one independent, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for councilwoman from a lower East Side district. Canvassers, operating out of a Flynn headquarters at 15 Second Av. seek 4,000 signatures by Sept. 23, deadline for filing. The legal minimum is 3,000. The Socialist Workers Party (116 University Pl.) recently offered a mutual assistance pact to the CP calling for collaboration on gathering signatures for their respective candidates. Flynn headquarters by Sept. 17 had not responded to the SWP, called for more canvassers and reported that canvassing was meeting a better response than in 1954, when Miss Flynn last ran for office. Miss Flynn is campaigning under the People's Rights Party designation.

DETROIT MAYORALTY: Detroit storms center around mayoralty candidate Louis Miriani. Although he is a Republican and has served in the council presidency as a "whip" for the late Mayor Albert Cobo—almost universally labeled a reactionary by labor and the left—Miriani has won the endorsement of AFL and CIO leaders. Sarah Lovell tried to rally a labor or left opposition slate and, after that effort failed, accepted the SWP designation. In the Sept. 10 primaries three Negroes were nominated for the Common Council. If elected they will be Detroit's first Negro councilmen.

NEW JERSEY RACE: In New Jersey Gov. Robert B. Meyner is running for reelection in what is taken to be a test of his worth as presidential timber. He is outside the old Hague machine and has been anti-McCarthy, but otherwise has avoided commitment on most pressing national issues, including civil rights. The election will be not only a test of Meyner's considerable charm among the voters but also an indication of trends in a normally Republican state. Meyner's GOP opponent is State Sen. Malcolm S. Forbes who barnstorms in a converted milk wagon and assails the Governor's patronage practices.

CALIFORNIA CONTEST: In California Sen. Wm. F. Knowland and Gov. Goodwin J. Knight are stumping the state for the Republican governorship nomination. Primaries are set for June 3, but both candidates look beyond that date to 1960. Though Knowland has not yet announced his governorship candidacy he is already launched on an extensive speaking tour and is expected to toss in his hat at a climactic turn of the swing. Gov. Knight has made his bid for reelection and has charged that Knowland sees the governorship only as a stepping stone to the White House. Knowland has answered that if he runs and wins he will serve out the term, but most observers are skeptical.

Knowland's ambition is so obvious that most observers think if he passed up his bid in 1960 it would be to groom himself for 1964, when he will be only 56 and still pass as well-seasoned timber. Knowland's choice of the year for his big push on Washington is generally thought to depend on how formidable Vice President Nixon looks as a rival.

The hopes of politicians might well be shattered by the next few years, however. Columnist Walter Lippmann last week foresaw "a period of recession" and an "agonizing reappraisal" of foreign policy that would shake "the existing complacency and tranquility of public opinion." All political speculation, he said, was "subject to the heaviest kind of discount."

SMITH ACT PRECEDENT

Govt. abandons the Nelson case; 5 in Conn. free

IN PITTSBURGH SEPT. 13 the government abandoned its first Smith Act proceeding: the retrial ordered last October by the Supreme Court in the cases of Steve Nelson and four co-defendants. U.S. attorney M. Malcolm Anderson asked and received court permission to drop the proceeding. He said: "We cannot successfully retry these defendants on the basis of evidence presently available to the government."

Nelson and four co-defendants—James Dolsen, William Albertson, Benjamin Carreathers and Irving Weisman—were convicted in 1953. A fifth defendant, Andrew Onda, was not tried because of illness but the case against him was dropped also.

The 6-3 Supreme Court decision last October wiping out the Pittsburgh convictions and ordering new trials followed the government's statement to the Court, on the eve of argument for review of the convictions, that the testimony of witness Joseph Mazzei against some of the defendants had been tainted. The government asked that the cases be returned to the lower courts. Instead the Supreme Court threw out all the convictions on the ground that tainted testimony against some affected the course of the trials of all. Prior to the Supreme Court review Appeals Court Judge William Hastie had entered a notable dissent to the convictions, joined in by Judge Laris, on the grounds that the evidence against the defendants was insufficient to have been submitted to a jury.

OUT IN CONNECTICUT: Last spring the Supreme Court threw out also the conviction of the 14 California Smith Act defendants and ordered new trials for nine of them on grounds similar to Judge Hastie's dissent in the Nelson case and the additional grounds that the statute of limitations had expired on one of the charges against them, that of re-organizing the Communist Party in 1945. The government has thus far failed to mount new trials for the California nine.

Pursuant to the decision in the California cases, the Court of Appeals in Connecticut Sept. 11 reversed convictions of five Smith Act defendants convicted last March. In a 2-1 decision the Court ruled that "where the jury's finding is not supported by the evidence it is our duty to reverse." They said:

"We would mock both fair trial and free speech as meaningful constitutional guarantees were we to ignore the deficiencies of this record." The convictions reversed were those of Martha Stone Asher, Joseph Dimow, Simon Silverman, Robert C. Ekins and Jacob Goldring.

Of eight defendants originally involved in the Connecticut trials, Alfred Marder was acquitted, charges against Sidney S. Resnick were dismissed because of a hung jury and James C. Tate was found guilty, got a suspended sentence and did not appeal.

MASSACHUSETTS CASE: In Boston sculptor Otis A. Hood and four others indicted under the Smith Act as leaders of the Communist Party in Massachusetts moved before Federal Judge Bailey Aldrich for dismissal of their indictments. The others under indictment are Anne Burlak Timpson, Michael Russo, Sidney S. Lipshires and Daniel Boone Schirmer.

RESTRAINT

Left: A London bobby restrains a trucker while other strikers block the progress of a potato-laden truck in the fight for higher pay this summer. They want no more "restraint in wage demands" advocated by the Conservative government. Above: Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell, advocate of restraint toward nationalization, is having tough sledding.

CLASS STRUGGLE OR COLLABORATION?

Britain's labor movement argues its socialist goals

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

THE STRUGGLE WITHIN the British labor movement against the attempt by the Labour Party leaders to eliminate from their program even the rudiments of socialism and to secure endorsement of a new policy of acquiring, for the state, shares in capitalist monopolies, is growing fiercer. The idea of replacing the class struggle by this particular form of class collaboration was Hugh Gaitskell's, who was selected for the leadership by the dominant Right Wing trade union leaders.

Gaitskell's big triumph was to secure support for the scheme from Aneurin Bevan and his supporters who were elected to the executive as spokesmen for the Left Wing policies by the Labour Party groups in the localities. This combination seemed certain to secure acceptance of the plan at the Labour Party Conference due to meet at Brighton in the first week of October.

But since then revolt has flared up in unexpected quarters. First, 32 Labour M.P.s, some of whom had always been considered middle-of-the-road rather than Left, came out with a statement condemning the whole scheme.

FIGHT BROADENS: Now the struggle is moving into wider fields. First, powerful trade unions with massive voting strength at the Labour Party Conference are coming out against the policy; second, the Labour Party leaders have stirred up a hornet's nest by attempting to break the political influence of the co-operative movement, which for more than 30 years has worked in alliance with the Labour Party.

So far, spokesmen for the Transport and General Workers Union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and the Natl. Union of Railwaymen, whose combined vote is nearly one-third of the Labour Party Conference, have criticized the new executive policy. Other unions will certainly follow their example and many of them, notably the unions in the metal industries, are demanding a Labour Party program based on taking over a series of industries now earning huge profits. There is sufficient voting power already lined up to defeat the executive's proposals, but before the Conference there will be a series of maneuvers designed to avoid a straight vote and to persuade the rebels that the executive's proposals represent "one way to socialism" and do not preclude other measures.

The reality behind the whole battle is the belief of the Labour leaders that they will win a majority at the next election on the failure of the Macmillan government rather than their own policies and their desire not to be tied down to specific pledges.

THE BACKGROUND: Under the British procedure of naming the head of a majority party Prime Minister, in effect the only way to bring pressure for progressive policies is before a Labour government is elected.

That is why the present trial of strength has such far-reaching significance. It also explains the attack on the co-operative movement. For its self-protection, the co-operative movement formed its own political party shortly after World War I. It then created an alliance with the Labour Party under which nominees of the Co-operative Party are eligible for adoption as candidates for Labour Parties, and if elected sit as Labour-Co-operative M.P.s.

Normally there is little to distinguish them from ordinary Labour M.P.s, but during the battle against German rearmament, the co-operative movement stood firm in its opposition. Recently the Co-Operative Congress adopted a unanimous resolution calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons and disarmament in much more vigorous terms than any official Labour Party declaration. It is particularly suspicious of the plan to buy shares in capitalist monopolies, because the Labour leaders refuse to regard extension of co-operative ownership of production and distribution as a more effective means of fighting capitalism.

STRAINED RELATIONS: Under the present agreement between Labour and Co-operative Parties, the Co-operative M.P.s have the right to vote in disagreement with the Labour Party if matters affecting their movement are involved. The Right Wing Labour leaders see this as a threat to their hopes of a Labour government in which they alone will be in a position to impose policy. Moreover, as a result of the more progressive attitudes of the co-operative movement, local Labour Parties have on several occasions recently chosen Co-operative nominees in preference to those sponsored by Labour Party headquarters. Gaitskell and his supporters now have presented the co-ops with an ultimatum to disband their party and merge their local organizations with the Labour Party.

CHANGE IN THE WIND: Gaitskell's mood was not brightened by the events at the Trades Union Congress meeting in Blackpool earlier this month. He sat in the gallery during the debates, a puzzled and lonely figure, watching the delegates turn thumbs down on the policies of avoiding struggles on the home front and broadly backing the Conservative government's cold-war alliance with Washington. For him these were to be the shape of things to come at the Labour Party conference.

Whereas a few years ago these policies would have been jammed through, this year the majority feeling was so strong that the Right Wing did not even dare fight back. There was clearly a new balance of power in the T.U.C. Among the resolutions adopted by the T.U.C. were these:

- Immediate cessation of manufacture of nuclear bombs and an end to the testing.
- Unification or withdrawal of all foreign troops; a system of collective security for all Europe.
- A seat for China in the UN.
- Rejection of the policy of the Labour leaders for abandoning the transfer of industries to public ownership in favor of buying a minority of shares in capitalist firms. This means that at Brighton the new Labour policy will be sent back for reconsideration, although a face-saving compromise is likely.

It was plain that the workers of Britain were demanding new and progressive ideas from their leaders.

* * *

San Francisco Lawyers Guild to hear John Coe Sept. 28

A FIGHTING civil rights attorney from Florida, John M. Coe, will speak at the National Lawyers Guild banquet, Sept. 28, at the Cathay House in San Francisco.

Coe, national president of the Guild, was a Florida state senator from 1924 to 1926. His topic will be "The Receding Tide of Thought Control."

"From the title," Coe said, "one might assume that we are celebrating enthusiastically a rebirth of American liberty, but I am compelled sadly to confess that as the tide recedes it leaves behind it a beach strewn with the wreckage of institutions and men."

The San Francisco chapter of the Guild, 240 Montgomery St., is the sponsor of the Sept. 28 banquet.

* * *

WHAT YOU CAN DO

ECLC launches drive to abolish Un-American comm.

The longest journey starts with a single step. —Chinese proverb

THE EMERGENCY Civil Liberties Committee has set forth on the long, hard road of ending by abolition the 30-year career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. ECLC, a six-year-old organization now headed by Harvey O'Connor and Corliss Lamont as chairman and vice-chairman, has spearheaded campaigns against loyalty-security victimization of armed services members and against State Dept. passport regulations in the case of Dr. Otto Nathan and many others.

The ECLC also shared in victories of its chairman and vice-chairman against contempt charges growing out of refusals by both to testify before the McCarthy Committee on the subject of their writings. ECLC branches and local committees affiliated with it have staged notable protests against the House committee inquisitions, especially the past year in Chicago and Los Angeles.

The abolition campaign has strong allies in the nation's press but no surface support in Congress itself. One immediate aim of the campaign is to stiffen Congressional backbones by community action during the present recess until Congress re-convenes in January.

ACTION STEPS: A 12-point program proposed for community action includes visits to Congressmen, letters to newspapers, opposition to scheduled Un-AAC hearings, support of all First Amendment cases in the light of the Supreme Court's Watkins decision, public meetings and petitions to Congress to end or curb the committee's activities. Several such petitions are now available, one initiated by Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, another by Dr. John Lapp of Chicago's Roosevelt University. Others were undertaken last year by the Religious Freedom Committee and the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action in conjunction with ECLC.

ECLC's executive director Dr. Clark Foreman plans a four-week barnstorming tour during October, heading west through the center of the country and returning via the northwest. ECLC will also undertake to provide speakers for local meetings.

Literature in preparation includes reprints of the Watkins decision, now available at 15c each postpaid, and an abolition pamphlet now in preparation. Periodic reports on the progress of the abolition campaign will be published and mailed to the press, local groups and interested individuals.

* * *

New York readers, note!

A CARNEGIE HALL meeting Friday, September 20, kicks off the ECLC campaign to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Speakers include Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton; blacklisted screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, one of the committee's earliest victims and widely credited with being last season's Hollywood "Oscar" winner for a screenplay under the name of Robert Rich; and Louis Redding, civil rights attorney of Wilmington, Del.

The meeting is scheduled for 8:30 p.m. Tickets are $1.50 at the box office or at the ECLC office, 421 Seventh Av., tel. OX 5-2863.

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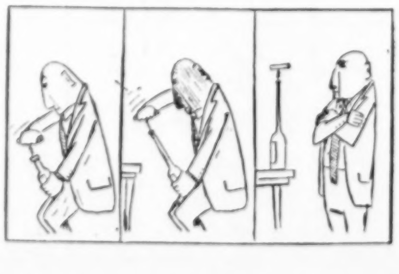


THE GARBAGE DECREASES, THE TALK INCREASES

China today: How to wash a brain

By Cedric Belfrage

PEKING

"IN 1945," said 63-year-old philosophy professor King Yo-ling, "a colleague to whom I was holding forth on 'liberty' pointed out to me that only 10,000 families in all China could have a pleasant, fulfilled life like mine."

His junior by six years, Peking town-planner and architecture professor Liang Szechen, said: "A while later somebody knocked it into my head that 700 peasants had to work a month to earn one professor's salary, and I'd been living on exploitation for nearly 50 years. That's how our brainwashing, which took many years, began." The two old friends laughed as Liang added: "Except that, in my case, I wondered how much brain I had to wash."

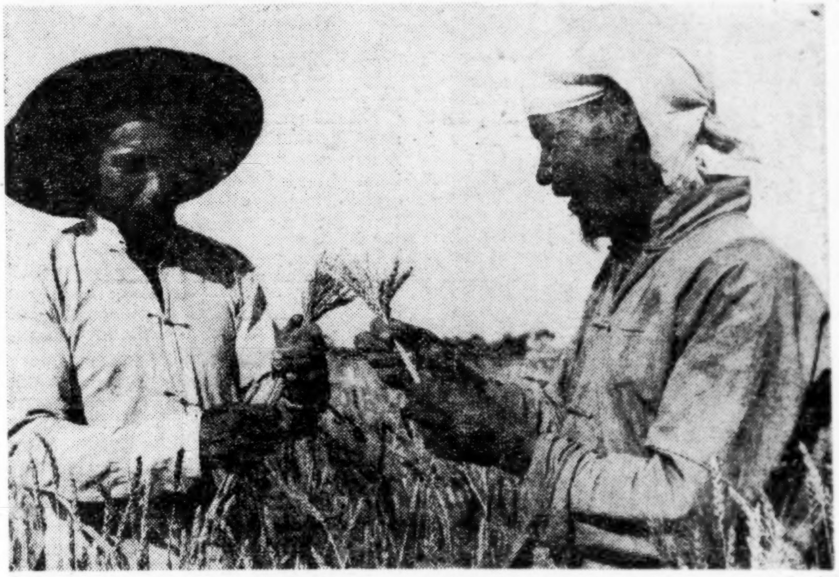
If it were not for their startling modesty, the small dark architect and tall gray-haired philosopher would seem to typify Confucian China's finely-bred intellectuals. Both spent many youthful years drinking leisurely at Western academic springs: 14 years in the case of Columbia graduate King. From birth neither knew what it was to lack for anything. Both were Chinese patriots (the issue in their youth being no less than foreign partition of their country) and philosophical idealists, with Kant, Hegel and Bertrand Russell as King's special field in which he still gives courses. In the '30's they journeyed far into the interior to continue their teaching beyond reach of the Japanese occupiers.

THE THOUGHT INSIDE: Just recently, having continued as members of the Democratic League (the party representing intellectuals and those of bourgeois origin), they deemed themselves finally "worthy" of candidacy for the Communist Party. How, I asked, did they make this belated trek from "pure" liberty-worship learned in America to Marxian materialism? The way they told it gave an insight into what the current campaign for "rectification of style" is aimed to instill on all levels in the new China.

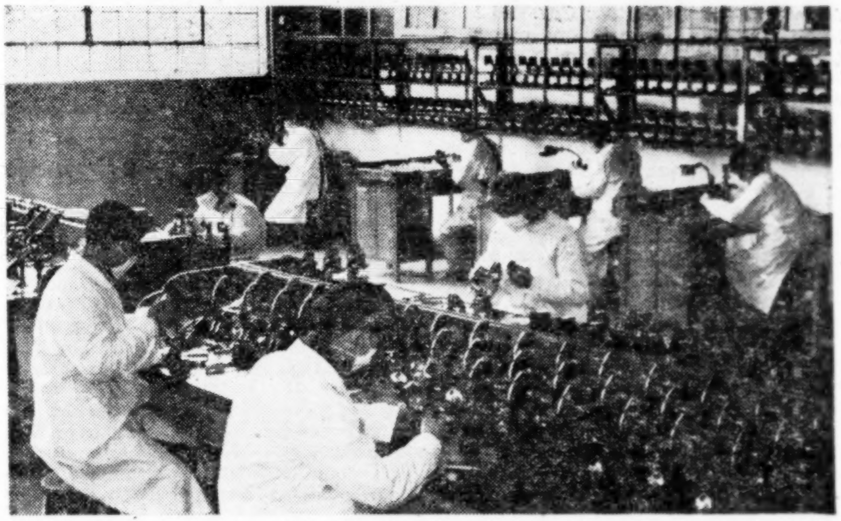
Liang was an architect "caring only for outside appearance, not for the thought inside." Wanting graceful city planning, he got the idea ("from reading Lewis Mumford") that only socialism could do it—but thought socialism meant "your pipe and my teapot would be made public property." As the Kuomintang regime's downfall became inevitable, "we waited passively to be brainwashed." "Or rather," said King, and Liang nodded, "we found it had already started before we knew it."

A DRINK OF WATER: With one taking up the story from the other, they said: "The process was kept in motion simply by the events we saw and experienced. When the Kuomintang forces began firing at the approaching 8th Route Army from an artillery post on the campus, the Communists to save the university didn't fire back. The Kuomintang forces retired into the city and two days later our [the Kings'] maid arrived for work in great excitement. She had opened her door to find the street full of resting 8th Route Army soldiers, although not a dog had barked during the night. It was very cold and she asked them in for a drink of hot water, but they refused. Finally they thanked her for the water when she took it outside and insisted they drink it. 'I never saw soldiers like that before,' the maid kept saying all day.

"Next day a happily whistling soldier passed the campus with a heavy basket which, he explained, he was returning to a peasant two miles away who lent it to him. Shortly before this, a Kuomintang colonel had billeted himself in a neighboring woman's house and stolen all her things when he left. We thought it was a striking contrast.



It took 700 peasants a month to earn a professor's pay . . .



. . . but today in a Shanghai machine shop the pay is good.

THE ODDEST SOLDIERS: "With the Kuomintang forces in the city the Communists had to bombard it, but at their request I [Liang] worked five days preparing a list and map of all Peking's historic buildings so they could avoid hitting them. Actually the Kuomintang surrendered the city anyway—but who ever saw soldiers like that?

"Such overwhelming impressions followed one after the other. The inflation was quickly solved, in contrast with Germany where I [King] was after the first war, where it took years. A railway which had been under construction for 40 years—at huge expense and with almost no construction—was completed by the new regime in two. Already the first train has run across the first bridge over the Yangtze. Last year a group of us sat for months working out a plan for China's material, spiritual and cultural reconstruction for the next 12 years. In an undreamt-of cultural boom, the arts of our minority peoples have been awakened for the benefit of all—things we never knew existed in China."

A HEAP OF GARBAGE: "Under such conditions," said Liang, "no one can resist being voluntarily or involuntarily brainwashed. After liberation I was involved in planning the reconstruction of Peking. In the first year we removed 349,000 tons of garbage which had been accumulating ever since the Ming dynasty. In 18 months we removed 610,000 tons of human manure and sent it to the farmers. I began to respect the Communists but felt they had one great failing: they didn't understand architecture—what a shame!

"The architecture was entrusted entirely to me and for some time I tried to make the new Peking as glorious as the old, with yellow and green glazed roof-tiles and so on. The Party said we couldn't afford it but I kept on. After two years, with glazed tiles and ornaments being put even on city bus stations around the country following my Peking model, I began to see the waste of desperately-needed money for which I was responsible. In a series of discussion meetings where I could say just what I wanted, the Party convinced me I was thoroughly wrong as far as this initial stage of reconstruction is concerned.

"Now I am all for communism, all for the Party. If I depart from Marxism, I am bound to make mistakes. In realizing my mistakes, I lose—only my mistakes."

"The point," said philosopher King, "is that we now understand it's not what people think that changes things, but life and experience that change what we think."

AS FOR RUSSELL . . .: I said it was a pity they couldn't make the story of their change known to Western intellectuals whose idealist attitude persists—especially to a Bertrand Russell who at the same time speaks out for co-existence and against many injustices under capitalism.

"As for Russell," said King, "he deserves credit for having the courage of his convictions, but after all he can afford it as others often can't. I have attended one or two international conferences, but I find that the same words no longer mean the same things on the two sides. There you have a difficulty. But in any case, in the absence of the kind of things that have happened here, it's rather hard to see how these changes of thinking can occur. It's impossible to change one's ideas simply by staying in the academic atmosphere and exchanging discussions. Yet with these things happening it's almost impossible not to change—although a very few of us haven't."

While the Kings and Liangs teach and practice their new ideas, apparently free from all inner and outer tensions, other yet-unbrainwashed "rightists" in every area from farm to government are under intense fire in the "rectification" campaign. Half or more of every newspaper consists of reports on "rectification" meetings — informal tea-sipping affairs at which "rightists" are called on to redeem past errors by facing up to them frankly before their colleagues. In the new socialist morality, only by this self-purging—and not by old forms of "punishment"—can they be accepted as no longer a counter-revolutionary danger to society.

THE CASE OF LO: As long as their colleagues are not convinced that they have told and understood all, the sessions continue. Most-publicized case is that of Chiang Nai-chi, Chang Po-chuin and Lo Lung-chi, Democratic League leaders who are ministers of food, transport and timber industry. In each of six such ordeals for Lo, more shady actions that "slipped his mind" came out after confrontation with witnesses. In the seventh session, last August, Lo's fellow League members still called him a liar and a hypocrite.

Lo admitted that after liberation he went along with the idea, put to him by U.S. contacts in Shanghai, that even as a virtual "colony of the U.S." accepting Washington dollars China would be better off than as a member of the socialist camp. He claimed to "love his country" but, in view of his obvious and futile attempts to cover up what he thought hadn't been found out, nobody believed him. Two witnesses at the Seventh Session were Lo's former servants who said he treated them "almost like slaves."

The Chinese feel that this method—a sort of mass psychoanalysis—is the only foundation for a healthy socialist society. Everyone must look at his own life and thoughts as they really are, and stop kidding both himself and his associates. They think all must eventually succumb to the pressure to be honest, which is all they require of even the most hardened "rightist;" and their patience seems inexhaustible.

HOW THEY CAN WIN: That they are pushing "rectification" now indicates strength as well as realism. Real counter-revolutionaries must be separated out from those waverers and doubters whose persistence, after so few years, is sympathetically understood. The people and Party are constantly reminded of the value of sharp criticism—even if unfounded—as a "teacher" of leaders who would become bureaucratic without it.

"Class war of a mass and large-scale character," said the **People's Daily** (8/11) in a long "rectification" editorial, "is over in our country . . . but there are still people who don't believe socialism can really win." It will win if, and only if, "we put an end to our country's backwardness in both economics and culture." This is a job for honest people. Recalling the people's sufferings "under imperialist domination," the CP organ insisted that China had no third alternative between going back to this under capitalism and "going forward to socialism."

To this, the Kings and Liangs say a loud "aye"—which is a long way to have traveled from Kant and Russell.

* * *

Free Enterprise Blvd.

TRAFFIC problems are the result of "socialized streets and highways," said Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt, the Chamber of Commerce's research director.

"If we had privately-owned streets and highways, operated as private enterprises, this accentuated problem of congestion would never have arisen and would be self-solving," Schmidt asserted.

Trenton Times, 5/17

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., SAYS: JOHN KASPER GO HOME
When the race-rabble-rouser tried to speak his audience passed the hat to buy him a one-way ticket

Little Rock story

(Continued from Page 1)

trict Court decision and to cooperate fully "in carrying out his responsibilities" in respect to them. The Governor's statement was as vague as the President's on what the next step would be.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?: Gov. Faubus told newsmen: "This trip to Newport has been worthwhile from my point of view." But the N.Y. **Times'** John N. Popham wrote from Little Rock (8/15) that the statements "created confusion and uncertainty." He said people were asking: "But what does it mean?" Supt. of Schools Virgil T. Blossom said that everything now depended on "what happens to the National Guard." Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the Arkansas NAACP and editor of the (Negro) **State Press,** said: "It was a lot of double talk. The situation is still in a state of confusion." NAACP attorney Wiley A. Branton, who brought the original suit for integration, said everything still was "vague and ambiguous."

Segregationists were likewise confused. Former State Senator Jim Johnson, who ran against Faubus on an anti-integration platform, said he hoped and prayed it meant "that the Governor is standing for the right thing—maintaining segregation."

ON TRANQUILITY: Then, on the night of Sept. 15, Gov. Faubus appeared on Mike Wallace's interview program (he had canceled an earlier press conference) and announced that "under a condition of tranquility" the National Guard would be withdrawn from Central High. He said he would determine the state of tranquility "on the basis of facts and information available to me." He said there was still a possibility of violence and, in the timeworn tradition of a politician in a box, blamed local enemies for his plight. Among them were former Gov. Sid McMath and Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas **Gazette** of Little Rock, who has written many forthright editorials on the question of integration.

Walter Lippmann speculated (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 8/16) that some kind of "tacit understanding" had been reached between the President and Gov. Faubus to resolve the issue "by judicial proceedings carried on slowly and with great deliberation," thus avoiding any move which might "precipitate a showdown between the Governor and the Federal power." Lippmann thought that if President Eisenhower were one "who took command, who spoke clearly, in no uncertain terms, to the patriotism, the common sense and the good will of the people," the whole integration climate could be improved.

THE POLICY-MAKERS: Seventeen of the 23-member Democratic Advisory Council, including former President Truman, Govs. Harriman of New York, Williams of Michigan, and McFarland of Arizona, and 1956 Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson, declared in a statement last week that the Newport statements were "disappointing to all Americans." The signers said they hoped that the Governor—who "does not represent the position or the policy of the Democratic Party"—would comply peacefully with the law and Federal court orders. Any other course would be "a defeat for law and order and for the Constitution itself."

TRIAL DATE IS POSTPONED

Flimsy charges against 8 bared in Ohio T-H case

A SEPT. 16 TRIAL DATE for Cleveland's eight Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" defendants was vacated Sept. 10. A new date will be set when counsel have been obtained for five of the defendants not yet represented and pending pre-trial motions disposed of by the trial judge.

Meanwhile much of the government's vague case against the eight has been forced to light by pre-trial demands of the accused following the Jencks decision of the Supreme Court.

The defendants, in Cleveland, include one-time union officials Fred and Marie Haug and Eric Reinthaler and five others alleged to be Communist Party agents or officers. Listed as "co-conspirators" but not as defendants are eight national or regional CP officers, all of whom have been involved in past Smith Act trials. The Haugs have been indicted also for perjury in the filing of allegedly false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits.

In several court actions during the summer, the Haugs and Reinthaler succeeded in having the government ordered to produce bills of particulars as to overt acts and other charges against them. The government has produced some of the material demanded and has asked the court to reconsider its order to produce further information before trial.

THE "DIRECTIVES": The information produced thus far discloses that "directives" the Haugs are alleged to have received from CP officials had nothing to do with the Taft-Hartley Law but instead urged them to muster union support for the Natl. Negro Labor Council, the Civil Right Congress and the Progressive Party.

The original indictment against the eight charged that a conspiracy has caused false T-H affidavits to be filed in Cleveland and "divers other places". Ordered by the court to detail the other places, the government listed Dayton, Cincinnati, Mansfield, Canton, Akron, Steubenville and Toledo, Ohio. Actually the only places T-H affidavits could have been filed were Cleveland and Cincinnati, the only regional offices of the National Labor Relations Board in Ohio. At some of the cities listed, neither of the unions allegedly involved—Mine-Mill and UE—have locals or members.

A Communist directive allegedly issued by defendant James West turned out to be that "an automobile be purchased." Edward Chaka, another defendant, allegedly carried out the directive when he "participated in the selection" of an automobile at "Central Chevrolet, Inc." (Cleveland's largest G.M. agency.).

In Reinthaler's case, a "person known to him to be a member of the Communist Party U.S.A." whom he allegedly transported to a meeting was disclosed to be one Fred Leonard Gardner, then an official in Reinthaler's union, the United Electrical Workers. Gardner has appeared as a witness in several anti-union proceedings and is expected to be the government's chief witness in the Cleveland case.

The government fought further pre-trial disclosures on the grounds that "an act may be an innocent or insignificant act, but if done in furtherance of the conspiracy such act becomes an overt act... The government could not at its peril determine in advance which bits of evidence might become overt acts." The court has not yet ruled on the government's demurrer.

HELP IS NEEDED: The court has agreed to appoint counsel for the five alleged Communist officials. The Haugs are represented by former Rep. Stephen M. Young of Cleveland and David Scribner of New York; Reinthaler has retained Fred H. Mandel, a court-appointed lawyer in the Cleveland Smith Act trials.

MARIE HAUG
And "divers other places"

The five alleged CP defendants are seeking aid through a Committee for Taft-Hartley Defendants, 2014 E. 105th St., Room 202, Cleveland 6, Ohio. This committee has available an illustrated, 4-page folder on the case which quotes the late Clarence Darrow on the subject of U.S. conspiracy laws:

"If A is indicted and a conspiracy is charged . . . the state's attorney is allowed to prove what A said to B and what B said to C while the defendant was not present. He can then prove what C said to D and what D said to E and so on, to the end of the alphabet and after the letters are used up the state's attorney can resort to figures for as long a stretch as he cares to continue."

The current indictments, the folder says, "stretch the thin chain of 'conspiracy' almost to the vanishing point."

The Haugs and Reinthaler are backed by a union committee of members of Local Lodge 2155 Intl. Assn. of Machinists, AFL-CIO. Contributions should be sent to Tom Degnan, Treasurer, T-H Defense Fund, 1205 Superior Av., Cleveland 14.

The Emancipation Proclamation and the national election of 1960

On Sept. 8, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles departed from his prepared sermon to read President Eisenhower a lesson in American history before and after the Civil War.

IN LITTLE ROCK, Ark., there is today moving evidence that there are many Americans, Negro and white, who wish to spell out for the world the lessons of free survival.

If we are disturbed about Arkansas at this moment, as we ought to be, it should not be about the nine Negro students forbidden by bayonet point to enter their assigned high school class rooms—their names are already a part of American social history. Rather we should be concerned whether Mr. Eisenhower accepts the role of former presidents, James Buchanan and Andrew Johnson, by failing to make it clear to Governor Faubus that the Federal power must be recognized as final.

Arkansas at this moment of history can spell the end of the Republican Party if the party fails to assert the initiative of the Federal government when it is challenged by the impertinence of any state that tries to live by the folkways of 1850.

Since the Negro vote seems to be the prize of the 1960 elections, I have a suspicion that those who are advising the President on his Newport vacation will spare no pains in parsing for him the sentences for victory: namely, that Negro children must be allowed to read their books side by side, in the same class room, with white children.

This is not only because of the Emancipation Proclamation or the vision of ethnic equality long taught by church and temple, but because the presses in every world capital are giving Arkansas 60-point headlines for the first time in history and they do not help this administration prepare its plans for success in November, 1960. And this is because there are thousands upon thousands of plain farmers, small shop keepers, housewives, preachers, and others in Arkansas who are tired to death of segregation and have the Supreme Court of the United States on their side in saying so.

Not only do they want to break this evil heritage from the past which keeps free Americans apart in getting their education, they do not want Governor Faubus to blackmail the President in a fashion to appeal to other Southern Governors who watch the news from Little Rock with bated breath.

THE KICK-BACK MAY COME LATER
U.S. Army attache Robert Sweeney in Amman tells Jordan's chief of staff, Gen. Habes Majali (center), just how the recoil-less rifle works. The gun is part of a U.S. shipment to Jordan, ostensibly to discourage a left trend in neighboring Syria, which U.S. called a "crisis." The "crisis" proved a dud but King Hussein thought recoil-less guns might come in handy if his people kick back.

The Syrian story

(Continued from Page 1)

view Foreign Minister Gromyko warned the West that it would support Syria against aggression from without. He repeated the offer of a Four-Power agreement on arms embargo and maintenance of peace in the Middle East.

Saudi Arabia's King Saud, after consulting the Lebanese government, was reported to have informed President Eisenhower that U.S. concern over events in Syria was "exaggerated," and to have urged Washington to pipe down because U.S. pronouncements were being interpreted in the Arab world as interference in Arab affairs. He asked the President's assurances that there would be no such interference.

The Soviet and Saudi Arabian statements seemed to have pulled Washington back from the brink. Saud's message, the **Times** said (9/13), "was believed to have been an important factor in the sudden tempering of the American attitude toward Syria noted at Secy. Dulles' news conference" on Sept. 10.

At that conference Dulles said: "There has been as yet no determination that Syria is dominated by international communism within the meaning of" the Eisenhower Doctrine. He did not feel it "likely" that the Doctrine would be invoked.

INTERNAL UNREST: Behind the apparent inconsistency in policy there was, however, a purpose in the spectacular flights of U. S. Globemasters with arms for Washington's Arab allies. For the pro-western Arab states are distressed—not by communism but by explosive popular discontent at home, which may be ignited by Syria's example.

On Sept. 12, King Hussein hurried back to Jordan from a vacation in Spain "to face a new political crisis" (**Times,** 9/13). Thus far he has not even dared ask Parliament's approval of the cabinet he set up after the U.S. saved his throne. Even now he is said to be toying with the idea of naming a new Cabinet which he need not present for parliamentary approval for at least 30 days. British officials frankly viewed the arms shipment to Jordan as protection against a popular upheaval.

LIFE IN SAUDI ARABIA: King Saud wants U.S. arms too, but without publicity. In poor health, both literally and figuratively short-sighted, he has been unable to prevent a rising tide of discontent by flogging and torturing strike leaders in U.S.-owned oil fields and newspaper editors; by the most unspeakable savagery against his critics; by forbidding his people "bicycles, tobacco and listening to music on the radio"; by "herding them to prayers like cattle" while he travels at the head of a caravan of Cadillacs and his kinsmen "spend enough in one night in a Beirut cabaret to keep an average Saudi family alive for several years" (London **New Statesman,** 9/7).

King Saud apparently hopes to crush with American arms the popular discontent he has been unable to stifle with torture.

TURKISH MANEUVERS: Syria seemed to be worried most by Turkish troops massed on its borders. Although the Turkish government said its troops were on "routine maneuvers," Damascus believed the maneuvers were instigated by Henderson. In a letter to Turkish Premier Menderes last week, Premier Bulganin warned that it was "dangerous" to assume that "a military adventure against Syria could be localized."

"Incapable of dealing with a situation which called for the subtle tactics and long-term strategy of the age of 'peaceful competition' ", the **New Statesman** said, Washington was transforming the situation "into one in which cold war reflexes would apply [and] taking a 'calculated risk' in an area whose emotions and responses were themselves incalculable."

A HINT OF PEACE: It may be significant that Washington aimed its most powerful military and propaganda weapons against the one Arab government that has hinted at the possibility of peace with Israel. In an exclusive interview with N.Y. **Post** correspondent Frank Gervasi (9/4), Syria's Defense Minister Khaled el-Azm said: "It is impossible to talk of peace with Israel in the present context and while some of us are still alive. But a new generation is emerging and it might not be as bitter about Israel as many of us are now."

Gervasi said Azm spoke of the possibility of peace in "two, five or ten years, given a long period of quiet on the frontiers and a sincere demonstration on Israel's part that it has truly peaceful intentions toward us." On Sept. 12, according to **AP,** Syrian Army Chief of Staff Gen. Bizri said Syria "will not use its Soviet-supplied arms to attack anyone, including Israel."

A WORRIED ISRAEL: Israel, however, became increasingly alarmed over the shower of American arms in the Arab countries. Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban asked Washington to clarify its Mideast policy, to make "crystal clear" that it would oppose aggression against the integrity of all Middle Eastern states, including Israel.

Deploring the "headlong rearming of Arab states" which "casts a lengthening shadow" over the entire region, Eban said: "The Western powers would be better advised to strengthen the social and economic situation in the Middle East."

Asian flu story

(Continued from Page 1)

production costs. Doctors are expected to charge $5 for the shot and the visit.

The Federal government held to a strictly advisory role, setting up a geographical allocation system which the companies voluntarily accepted. But actual distribution would be left to the vagaries of supply and demand. Private enterprise would not suffer in the epidemic. There would be no mass inoculations by health officials; the channels of private practice were to be kept open.

CITY VS. WASHINGTON: On Sept. 11, with the demand mounting for the vaccine, with the virus affecting an estimated 20,000 persons around the country, New York City's Health Dept. took a second look at the situation and issued a statement putting a brake on runaway publicity. The Department's advisory committee backed down from its own earlier estimate of a "definite probability" of an epidemic. Now, said the advisory committee, the epidemic did not seem a sure thing and there was some doubt about the effectiveness of the vaccine. In any case, Health Commissioner Leona Baumgartner told the press, she saw no reason for mass immunization.

The following day the Public Health Service in Washington repeated its grave warnings and persisted in recommending vaccinations for the general public, insisting that the vaccine had been proved effective. The N.Y. State Health Dept. backed Washington's position against the city's.

Meanwhile Drew Pearson's syndicated column (written by Jack Anderson while Pearson is traveling) reported: "They refuse to be quoted, but some government doctors believe the Asiatic flu scare has been exaggerated to sell commercial vaccine."

On Sept. 14 Commissioner Baumgartner said a "large-scale outbreak" of the flu was "likely" but added that her advisory committee had to study the vaccine before recommending general inoculations. Personally, she said, she "would be happy to take it."

A PUBLIC PLAN: Most medical men supported the claims made for the vaccine: that it will give immunity of eight to 12 months to seven out of 10 people inoculated: that it will possibly have harmful side-effects only on those allergic to egg protein or on very young children. One health authority told the GUARDIAN he welcomed the city's statement to the extent that it quieted the scare which he thought unjustified. He favored wide distribution of the vaccine, but what worried him, he said, was the method of distribution.

He proposed to take the distribution out of the private doctor's hands. However, he said, doctors might not approve of that from a business point of view. He would set top priorities for places where people gathered in great numbers and could spread the disease most widely. He suggested the vaccine be distributed by large companies to their workers, by schools to pupils and by social agencies to those in crowded, poor sections of the big cities.

PUERTO RICO HIT: It is in the slums where the disease is likeliest to gather headway. There the general low level of health makes the people most susceptible, the crowded conditions make the spread easier and the low income makes inoculations prohibitive for many.

The program ran counter to the private enterprise philosophy of the official vaccination program. As if to confirm warnings of how the disease could gather steam in impoverished areas, reports told of the epidemic's ravages in Puerto Rico. Official estimates said 25,000 were down with it and there had been three deaths, all of them children. The Puerto Rican press put the figure at 60,000 ill and many more deaths than three. In San Juan alone 18,000 children were reported absent from school because of the epidemic.

Under the allocations program mapped in Washington, Puerto Rico is entitled to 1.3% of the vaccination output of the U.S. but none has yet been received in Puerto Rico. Meantime the flu has spread out of the impoverished parts of the island and crossed class lines. Last week the wife of Gov. Luis Munoz Marin became one of its victims.

LOS ANGELES

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Impatient with 'liberals'

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

This time I must disagree with my fellow Floridian, R. E. Boe of Pahokee. I believe research has shown that the Bill of Rights and the Constitution were written not for "liberals" but for the LITERATE. There is a qualitative difference here and I wonder if there had been "liberals" in the 18th century would there have been a revolution? Maybe we'll learn to read again but not if the vested interests can prevent it. But if we should, I think we might lose our patience with "liberals" and "liberalism."

Bernard Raymund

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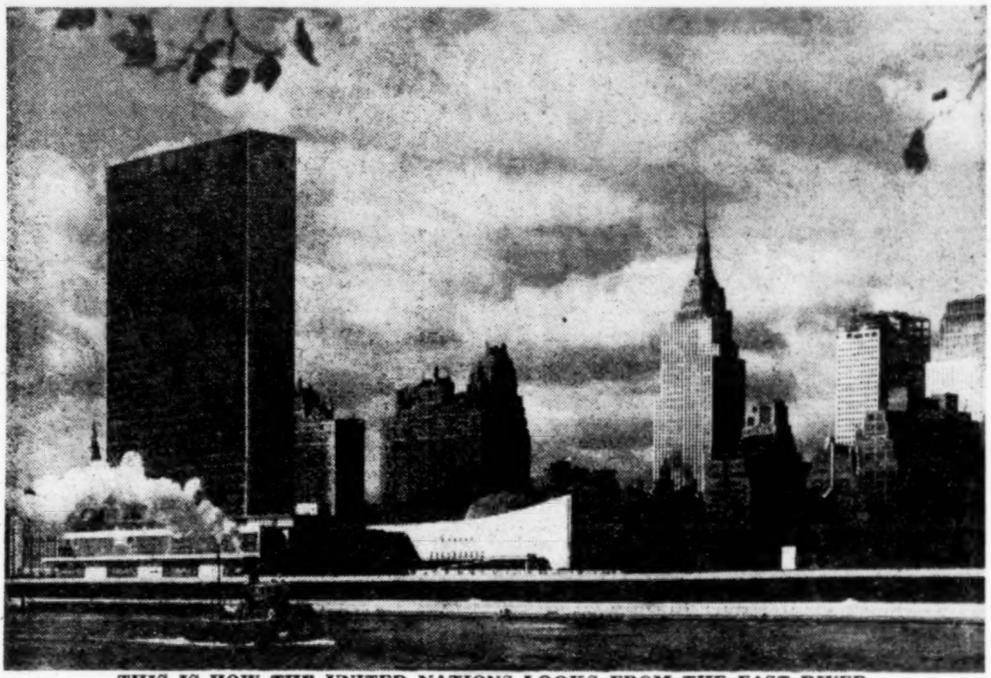

THIS IS HOW THE UNITED NATIONS LOOKS FROM THE EAST RIVER
Left foreground, at river's edge, the Security Council building; center, the General Assembly building (with dome); left, background, the Secretariat.

BOOKS

‘Revolution on East River’

IN PERIODS of great crisis, when the temptation to compromise is also great, there sometimes appears a writer who relentlessly cuts through half-truths and presents the ultimate solution with clarity and insight. The ultimate solution may be unattainable for a long time; but it has the incalculable value of supplying a frame of reference within which the merits of the intermediate steps can be judged. James Avery Joyce is such a writer. And his book **Revolution on East River*** supplies such a frame of reference for a world facing nuclear disaster.

Subtitled **The Twilight of National Sovereignty,** the book's main theme is: "National Sovereignty is on the way out and the Sovereignty of Man is on the way in." This, the author claims, is happening largely through the activities of the United Nations, located on the East River in Manhattan.

JOYCE BELIEVES that "the UN stands for something more than the total" of the nations comprising it. In defining that "something more" he discusses various UN activities and the parts played by its members, large and small: "neutralism, disarmament, atomic energy, nationalism, 'colonialism,' human rights, and others."

He cites instances where, despite great-power opposition, majorities in the UN have refused to accept the principle of unrestricted national sovereignty, as in the case of French rule in Algeria. He shows the fight put up by UN employes against U.S. witch hunts within the UN to maintain the rights of the gradually emerging body of international civil servants. There is an eloquent section on the persistent struggle by the delegates of the underdeveloped countries for a Special UN Fund for Economic Development.

The General Assembly has steadily grown in stature, Joyce believes, as the initially more powerful Security Council has become muscle-bound. In the Assembly, he writes, the Asian-African-Latin American group—especially the Bandung powers—have played the most constructive role in stressing the UN's principle of solving world problems peacefully. The role played by the great powers, however, has been hardly worthy of their stature.

NOT OVERLOOKING the faults of the Soviet Union, Joyce tellingly exposes the damaging role played by the U.S., which, as the world's richest and most powerful country, has the potentialities for playing the most constructive role. Washington's making "the vagaries of anti-communism the foundation of a national policy" and its "overwillingness to use military 'strength' to solve what are essentially non-military problems," the author contends, "has not only bereft America of natural 'allies' . . . but it has been one of the potent factors in the growth of neutralism as a safer and saner way to peace and security."

Nevertheless, in barely ten years, Joyce says, the UN has chalked up a remarkable record: ". . . whatever their limitations, the Draft Covenants on Human Rights have proclaimed the individual at last as a creature of international law—a 'right' hitherto reserved for governments; the trusteeship system, with its valuable petition procedure; the protective care offered by the various refugee and children's organizations; the international social legislation of the ILO; the human objectives of SUNFED and Technical Assistance; the growing stature of international man as the world's civil servant—everywhere the individual is entering into his birthright as the inheritor of the ages."

IN A WORLD menaced by nuclear weapons, Joyce feels, "there is no future for the human race in balancing guns against guns, spies against spies, threats against threats, bombs against bombs, atoms against atoms." He concludes: "Our indivisible security now depends on how quickly we can recognize our responsibilities as world citizens and rebuild the UN as a working prototype of a world authority . . ."

In his book, **"The United Nations and Power Politics,"** published by Harpers at the start of the Korean War, John Maclaurin, (the pen name of an eminent educator and UN consultant) gave a detailed story of the UN and came to the same conclusion as Joyce. "The world's unease," Maclaurin wrote, "stems from two sources: the revolt of the oppressed and political rivalry of the direct and indirect rulers of nation-states. The way out is therefore to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the discontented and to eliminate the rivalries." World government, to him, was the goal; but "it must be earned by honoring the [UN] Charter as it stands," since the Charter has "foreseen the need for both of these measures" and has provided "machinery for carrying them out."

JOYCE'S BOOK takes up the UN story where Maclaurin's leaves off, and complements it beautifully. Reading the two books together should prove enormously profitable and exciting. Maclaurin admitted that "a policy for peace is not foreordained to succeed." But, he felt on the basis of evidence available up to then, "it is surely preferable to a policy that has its foregone and hideous conclusion in war."

On the basis of still greater evidence available since 1950—and drawing upon his great reserve of knowledge of the League of Nations, ILO and the UN from the inside—Joyce came to the conclusion that "There is No Road to Peace: Peace is the Road."

—**Kumar Goshal**

REVOLUTION ON EAST RIVER, by James Avery Joyce, 229 pp. plus appendices and index. Abelard-Schuman, 404 4th Av., N.Y., $3.50.

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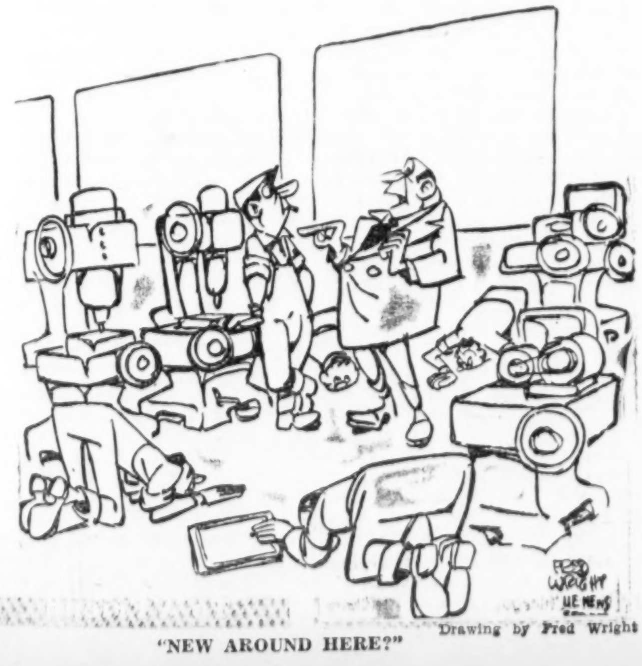

Drawing by Fred Wright

"NEW AROUND HERE?"

NEW YORK OCT. 2

Lawyers Guild honors Darrow

The National Lawyers Guild will honor the 100th anniversary of Clarence Darrow's birth at its October membership meeting to be held Wednesday, Oct. 2, at the Victoria Hotel, Broadway and 51st St., New York, at 8 p.m. The bar and the public are invited.

Excerpts of summations to the juries which have made Darrow famous will be presented in dramatic form by prominent members of the Guild. Participants in the symposium will include Frank Serri, president of the New York City Chapter; Royal W. France, national executive secretary, Nathan Frankel, Samuel Neuburger, and Julius Cohen, national treasurer.

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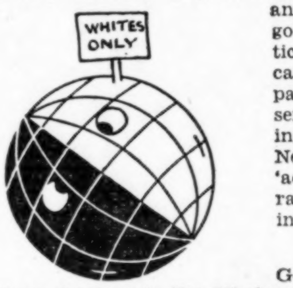
THE CASE OF SGT. GIRARD

Is the law white?

THE TRIAL OF ARMY SPECIALIST 3/c William S. Girard for the fatal shooting of a Japanese woman on a rifle range has touched the Negro press closely. Negro writers recognized familiar attitudes in the outcry against allowing him to be tried in a Japanese court. They cut through the legal maneuvers to the heart of the issue. The Pittsburgh **Courier**, for example, said:

"The angle is not that Americans won't be justly treated in foreign courts or that they don't commit crimes on foreign soil. The angle is that a white American is too good to be touched by anybody's justice but that of other white Americans—or, possibly, Englishmen." The paper recalled the case of the U.S. sergeant who killed a Chinese "peeping Tom" on Taiwan and noted that Negroes too "have been victims of 'accidental' killings and of unwarranted charges that they were 'peeping Toms' and 'rapists'."



Associated Negro Press columnist Gordon B. Hancock compared the Taiwan shooting to the Mississippi murder of Emmet Till and said that "our great nation is learning, much to its chagrin, that acquitting a white man in the slaying of a Chinese is not the same as acquitting a white man in the slaying of a defenseless Negro." The Los Angeles **Herald-Dispatch** commented that, unfortunately, "officials high in this nation's government show no indication of drawing correct conclusions" from the anti-American outbreaks. It added:

"Whether American imperialists recognize it or not, the Asian peoples are determined to gain the sovereignty of their countries as the American Negro is to gain first-class citizenship."

AN EXCHANGE of letters between Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) and the Army Secretary's office revealed that Negroes could look self-critically at their own GIs. Powell, receiving complaints that a Tokyo bar had refused to serve Negro soldiers, wanted it declared off limits to all U.S. service personnel. The Army Secretary told him that information from provost marshals and Japanese police in the area showed that only one cabaret or bar "refuses to admit or serve Negro people" but that 14 "serve Negro personnel [while discouraging] service to whites." It said proprietors of 11 other places desired only Japanese patronage and would be happy to be declared off limits to all Americans.

Chicago **Defender** columnist Enoc P. Waters Jr. reported:

"A newspaper, curious about the unusual request not to get a share of the millions of American dollars being spent by GIs in the area, made inquiries. 'It's not that we don't want American money,' one barkeeper said, 'and we're not mad at the Americans about anything. We'd just like to have a few places where we can be ourselves, without any Americans around—as it used to be a long, long time ago.' "

The Baltimore **Afro-American's** Ralph Matthews quoted from a letter to him by foreign correspondent William Worthy. Matthews had criticized both Negro and white GI behavior in Japan. Worthy wrote:

"I was especially glad to see you balance the picture with the stories of Negro soldiers and their wives lording it over the natives. I feel sure that as a rule we [the Negro press] do not go in enough for introspection and self criticism."

The **Courier** U.N. correspondent Horace R. Cayton observed (6/15) that "although accepting American aid, the Chinese cannot forget the former attitudes of white Europeans." He recalled signs reading "No Chinese or Dogs" in certain parks. He added that though "many Nationalist Chinese are anti-Communists, they cannot help but be inspired by the independence and dignity vis-a-vis white Europeans and Americans which has been achieved by Red China." Consciousness of their poverty despite "military and financial aid" to Chiang Kai-shek has been accentuated by "the nationalist stirring which is sweeping over the non-white world and finding expression in India, Africa and the Middle East."

The **Herald-Dispatch** summed up with a recommendation that white Americans "rejoin the human race before it is too late."

—Eugene Gordon

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the SPECTATOR

On reaching manhood

ISAIAH GREEN, aged 15, last week came to know that at last he was a man. His coming of age was officially confirmed by three solemn judges who pronounced him old enough to die.

The grisly ritual took place in a Philadelphia court room. When Judge Byron Milner recited the words, ". . . and that you there suffer death," the boy who had been declared a man collapsed. Two attendants supported hm, unconscious, while the judge intoned the legal rite that would send him to death. A man's voice rose from the back of the court indicating that to some one Isaiah Green was still a child. The voice cried again and again, "My boy . . . my boy."

Isaiah Green and two friends had held up a drug store last July and shot and killed the 75-year-old druggist. Green had pulled the trigger on the shotgun. His two companions, aged 14 and 15, were sentenced to life imprisonment. If all appeals fail, Green will be the first 15-year-old to die in Pennsylvania's electric chair.

In New York seven teen-agers, three of them only 15, are to be tried for killing another boy in a "gang" war. Last week the Bronx District Attorney insisted on pressing first-degree murder charges against still another who was 15 when he allegedly stabbed to death a man in the heat of a quarrel.

Judge Milner, who sentenced the Philadelphia boy, summed up the case for electrocuting youngsters when he explained: "These boys are really young men. They represent the type of young savages who have been committing atrocious crimes day after day in Philadelphia." Judges John Morgan Davis and Stauffer Oliver concurred.

THIS IS JOHN
One of the New York 7

NO ONE IN ANY responsible post has yet urged the appropriate next step: that executions be made public or televised and that teen-agers be excused from school to witness them. To do otherwise would be inconsistent. The state cannot hope to set a horrifying example to a generation if the executions are performed quietly and out of sight. The young men who are about to die, will die in vain, if their agony is not implanted deeply in the minds of their playmates.

It may be argued that the press can be expected to cover the executions luridly, but not all teen-agers read the tabloids, though perhaps they can be made required texts in the schools.

The judges who solemnly ordered the unconscious Philadelphia boy to die are in a venerable tradition. Self-righteous judges in the days of Queen Elizabeth I, tried similarly to rid England of pick-pockets. But the policy of the horrifying example collapsed when pick-pockets busily picked the pockets of crowds who gathered to watch other pick-pockets being beheaded.

In the case of the 15-year-olds the severity of the judges seems to stem from the fact that murder by a teen-ager is much more shocking than murder by an adult. Therefore it must be dealt with more harshly. It is as if the teen-ager had compounded his crime by the insolence of imitating his elders.

IN SOME COUNTRIES crimes of passion when committed by adults are not classified with those committed by cold premeditation. A man maddened by humiliation, jealousy or rejection may kill. The courts do not condone but they do not call him a hoodlum or a savage and they rarely execute him. When a nation is told that its honor has been sullied it may prepare to kill on a grand scale. This is called patriotism.

Yet only the most sentimental "bleeding-hearts," as the tough and righteous columnists call them, will attempt to explain that a young man of 15 who fancies himself offended deeply, or who fancies that his "gang" or his race or his color has been slighted, also kills from "passion." (There was no theft in the New York cases.)

When a boy imitates his elders and attempts a robbery he is treated as a "delinquent," sent to an institution where presumably psychiatrists and educators try to restore him to society. That at least is the theory. But if he pulls the trigger, then that momentary, unreasoned panic dooms him. He is declared a man, but more dangerous and abandoned than most men because he is precocious enough to have learned men's way so young. For that he dies.

The "bleeding hearts" are regularly assailed, as are the "eggheads" in our society—as if the brain and heart were subversive. They are frequently asked combatively: "What do you want to do with such kids?"

Admittedly no one has a precise answer to that, just as no one has yet found a precise cure for adult delinquency. But there is work being done by both "eggheads" and "bleeding hearts" that may bear fruit.

In the meantime for those who are out of patience and find they can't do a thing with these kids, an obvious answer is to kill them. Killing, when sanctified by three judges, will clearly demonstrate our horror of murder.

—Elmer Bendiner